Perspective Piece

Mindful, mindless, or misunderstood? A critical perspective of the mindfulness concept

B. D. Kelly

Department of Psychiatry, Trinity Centre for Health Sciences, Trinity College Dublin, The University of Dublin, Tallaght University Hospital, Tallaght, Dublin 24, D24 NR0A, Ireland

Abstract

Mindfulness is everywhere, but the term is often used mindlessly. This article discusses the growth of mindfulness-based interventions in many countries over the past fifty years and, more recently, the emergence of the idea of 'McMindfulness', with particular emphasis on the concept of 'spiritual bypassing'. Critical discourse is a valuable resource in any discipline. Proportionate, mindful incorporation of reasoned critiques strengthens mindfulness, rather than undermining it. Misunderstandings and misinterpretations of mindfulness highlight a need to counter the notions that mindfulness involves avoiding difficult issues in our lives or simply accepting social problems that need to be addressed. The opposite is true: mindfulness of reality inevitably generates insights about change. Before we change the world, we need to see it. Mindfulness practice is opting in, not opting out.

Keywords: Buddhism; Mindfulness; Meditation; Psychology; Spiritual bypassing

(Received 16 February 2022; revised 3 May 2022; accepted 19 May 2022; First Published online 10 June 2022)

The rise of mindfulness

Mindfulness means paying attention to the present moment, simply and directly. It involves maintaining a careful awareness of thoughts, actions, and emotions, but not judging them. It means staying focussed on the 'now' as much as possible and, when the mind wanders, gently re-directing it back to the present moment (Kelly, 2022).

Mindfulness finds its roots in ancient spiritual and psychological traditions, but its recent rise in western countries has been meteoric (Feldman & Kuyken, 2019). The growth of Buddhism in the United States during the 1960s was part of a broader counter-cultural movement that eventually declined, but certain themes persisted, as various Buddhist centres matured during the 1980s and 1990s, presaging the emergent focus on mindfulness (McCown *et al.* 2010).

The advent of mindfulness-based stress reduction in the late 1970s was a key step that brought particular focus to 'mindfulness' (Kabat-Zinn, 2013a). There is now strong evidence from rigorous randomised controlled trials that mindfulness-based interventions (MBIs) improve outcomes in domains such as chronic pain, depression relapse, and addiction (Creswell, 2017). Mindfulness-based cognitive therapy (MBCT) is especially useful in preventing depressive relapse (Crane, 2017; Segal *et al.* 2018). There is more detailed evidence for MBIs among specific groups, such as doctors (Fendel *et al.* 2021) and

nurses (Green & Kinchen, 2021; Kang & Myung, 2022), and there are extensive curricula and resources for mindfulness teachers (McCown *et al.* 2010; Crane *et al.* 2021a, 2021b).

Alongside these careful, evidence-based developments, however, another line of discourse has emerged, focused on the limitations of MBIs and some of the less reliable claims made about mindfulness: 'McMindfulness'.

The rise of 'McMindfulness'

The rapid ascent of mindfulness in many countries inevitably drew criticism. Ronald Purser synthesises many of these views in *McMindfulness: How Mindfulness Became the New Capitalist Spirituality* (Purser, 2019). Purser argues that mindfulness depoliticised and privatised stress. He suggests that if someone loses their job, current models of mindfulness indicate that it is their responsibility to deal with the resultant unhappiness by becoming more mindful. Mindfulness, he argues, accepts the dictates of the marketplace and has become 'the new capitalist spirituality'.

Purser does not give up on mindfulness, but argues that it should be taught differently to how he believes it is currently taught. He writes that mindfulness still has revolutionary potential, but that curricula should not focus solely on internal self-management (as he suggests they currently do) and should be broader, using the practice to develop insights into how social experience is embodied.

Purser is not alone in seeing certain current models of mindfulness in this way. Not unlike mindfulness itself, 'McMindfulness' and related concepts are now widely discussed by multiple commentators from diverse perspectives (Wolf, 2019). In 2019, David Forbes argued for a more critical, social mindfulness in

Address for correspondence: Professor B. D. Kelly, Department of Psychiatry, Trinity Centre for Health Sciences, Trinity College Dublin, The University of Dublin, Tallaght University Hospital, Tallaght, Dublin 24, D24 NR0A, Ireland. (Email: brendan.kelly@ tcd.ie)

Cite this article: Kelly BD. (2023) Mindful, mindless, or misunderstood? A critical perspective of the mindfulness concept. *Irish Journal of Psychological Medicine* **40**: 491–493, https://doi.org/10.1017/ipm.2022.31

[©] The Author(s), 2022. Published by Cambridge University Press on behalf of The College of Psychiatrists of Ireland. This is an Open Access article, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution licence (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Mindfulness and Its Discontents: Education, Self, and Social Transformation (Forbes, 2019a). Forbes summarised his views in *The Guardian*:

'McMindfulness practices psychologise and medicalise social problems. Rather than a way to attain awakening towards universal love, it becomes a means of self-regulation and personal control over emotions. McMindfulness is blind to the present moral, political, and cultural context of neoliberalism' (Forbes, 2019b).

In his comments, Forbes is careful to refer to 'McMindfulness', as opposed to mindfulness when it is properly taught and practiced.

Giraldi also provides a measured but critical account of the rise and marketing of mindfulness in *Psychotherapy, Mindfulness, and Buddhist Meditation* (Giraldi, 2019). Noting the inevitable complexities of integrating Buddhist ideas into western societies, Giraldi argues that it is increasingly difficult to distinguish meditation from various forms of cognitive and behaviour therapy. This is true: the overlaps are considerable, reflecting commonality between mindfulness and western approaches to psychological distress.

Most recently, psychologist Steven Hayes wrote a blog about 'fast food meditation' on *Medium*, pointing out that meditation is not a way to avoid difficulties in life, but a way of engaging with all of life (Hayes, 2022). Hayes's point speaks especially to one of the key issues in the critical literature about contemporary mind-fulness which concerns 'spiritual bypassing', a concept that helps explain some of the allure of 'McMindfulness'.

Spiritual bypassing

The term 'spiritual bypassing' was coined by John Welwood and refers to a tendency to use spiritual ideas or practices to sidestep unresolved emotional issues, psychological problems, or incomplete developmental tasks (Welwood, 2000). It means using the goal of awakening to avoid human needs or relational difficulties (Fossella & Welwood, 2011) and misusing the spiritual life to circumvent psychological problems (Cashwell, *et al.* 2010). In 2017, the 'Spiritual Bypass Scale-13' was developed, to provide a screening tool and way of assessing spiritual bypass (Fox *et al.* 2017).

The following year, Picciotto and colleagues published a study of the phenomenology of spiritual bypass in eight people who selfidentified as having experienced spiritual bypass in the past (Picciotto *et al.* 2018). Following detailed interviews, the researchers identified two broad themes: the development of spiritual bypass and its effects. The development of spiritual bypass was related to, among other factors, ideas of escape, avoiding pain, and the influence of religious or spiritual leaders. Negative consequences included depression, anxiety, lack of self-awareness, and disruptions in empathy. The value of a spiritual community that understands the importance of psychological work was identified as a way of preventing spiritual bypass.

Picciotto and Fox interviewed ten experts with backgrounds working with spiritual bypass and identified various specific themes, one of which was the symptoms of spiritual bypass; these include emotional and intellectual dissociation, relationship problems, and narcissism in the spiritual domain (Picciotto & Fox, 2018). Ways to manage spiritual bypass include empowermentbased models, empathetic approaches, helping people connect to the self, and being sensitive to the purpose that spiritual bypass serves in people's lives.

Ironically, many of these approaches to resolving spiritual bypass are very consistent with mindfulness once it is properly practiced, especially mindful awareness of the self and one's experience. This suggests that while some mindfulness practitioners might experience spiritual bypass as their practice develops, mindfulness can be part of the solution, once spiritual bypass is identified, and mindful awareness is applied to the problem in a thoughtful, self-aware fashion.

What mindfulness is and what it isn't

The criticism offered by 'McMindfulness' and the literature it has triggered is valuable, once this criticism is approached with openness, objectivity, and non-judgemental awareness. It is certainly true that recent years have seen the term 'mindfulness' become ubiquitous in media of all descriptions. It is virtually unavoidable in training courses, self-development seminars, and therapy programmes all over the world.

While this is largely a good thing, critics of 'McMindfulness' have a point: the concept of mindfulness is often applied mindlessly to all sorts of activities, including simple relaxation, which is a valuable activity but is not necessarily mindful (Weston, 2021).

There are several reasons for the rise of 'McMindfulness'. First and foremost, there has always been an insatiable appetite for shortcuts to enlightenment, be it through psychedelic drugs or the spiritual bypassing of 'McMindfulness' or any other misinterpretation of mindfulness. In addition, mindfulness can sound like all things to all people, not least because it is difficult to measure (Baer, 2013). While there is significant psychometric progress in this area, misunderstandings about mindfulness still loom large, and critics usually choose the most extreme misinterpretations of 'mindfulness' in order to make their points.

Finally, all philosophies, psychologies, and spiritual traditions are misunderstood, parodied, misused, and commercialised – as well as properly used. While mindfulness finds many of its roots in Buddhism (Kabat-Zinn, 2013b), the emergence of 'McMindfulness' reflects adaptations and reinterpretations of mindfulness in western societies, with all of the positives and negatives that this brings. Some applications are careful and considered, including the use of mindfulness as part of programmes of dialectical behaviour therapy (DBT), which can reduce self-harming behaviours and improve depression in borderline personality disorder (Chen *et al.* 2021).

Future research could usefully examine not only the various uses of mindfulness in mental health services but also the extent to which such uses maintain fidelity with the spiritual practice, develop something new and valuable, or are more akin to 'McMindfulness', which mainly refers to corporate and popular use of the term. Future research could also further characterise the benefits of MBIs in specific conditions and the application of mindfulness to maintain wellness as well as address illness. The advent of 'McMindfulness' should encourage, rather than deter, such research.

Conclusion

The *Dhammapada*, a collection of sayings of the Buddha, emphasises the value of criticism:

'Should one find a man [sic] who points out faults and who reproves, let him [sic] follow such a wise and sagacious person as one would a guide to hidden treasure. It is always better, and never worse, to cultivate such an association' (Buddharakkhita (transl.), 2013).

The criticisms offered by those who write about 'McMindfulness' provide valuable opportunities for learning and

developing mindfulness, focusing on the strengths of the practice, addressing misunderstandings, and clarifying teachings. It is especially important to be aware of the risk of spiritual bypassing and address it appropriately (Cashwell *et al.* 2004, 2009; Clarke *et al.* 2013).

These misunderstandings highlight a particular need to counter the notion that mindfulness involves avoiding difficult issues in our lives or simply accepting social problems that need to be addressed. The opposite is true: mindfulness of reality inevitably generates insights about change (McLeod, 2006; Ward, 2021). Before we change the world, we need to see it. Mindfulness practice is opting in, not opting out.

Acknowledgements. The quotation from *The Guardian* is courtesy of *Guardian* News & Media Ltd. The author is very grateful to the editor and reviewers for their comments and suggestions.

Financial support. This research received no specific grant from any funding agency, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Conflicts of interest. None.

Ethical standards. The author asserts that all procedures contributing to this work comply with the ethical standards of the relevant national and institutional committee on human experimentation with the Helsinki Declaration of 1975, as revised in 2008. The author asserts that ethical approval for publication of this perspective piece was not required by their local Ethics Committee.

References

- Baer RA (2013). Measuring Mindfulness. In *Mindfulness: Diverse Perspectives* on its Meaning, Origins and Applications (ed. Williams JMG, Kabat-Zinn J), pp. 241–261. Routledge: London and New York.
- Buddharakkhita A (transl.) (2013). Panditavagga: The wise (Dhp VI). Access to Insight (BCBS Edition) (http://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/kn/dhp/ dhp.06.budd.html). Accessed 15 February 2022.
- Cashwell CS, Clarke PB, Graves EG (2009). Step by step: avoiding spiritual bypass in 12-step work. *Journal of Addictions & Offender Counseling* 30, 37–48.
- Cashwell CS, Glosoff HL, Hammond C (2010). Spiritual bypass: a preliminary investigation. *Counseling and Values* 54, 162–174.
- Cashwell CS, Myers JE, Shurts WM (2004). Using the developmental counseling and therapy model to work with a client in spiritual bypass: some preliminary considerations. *Journal of Counseling & Development* 82, 403–409.
- Chen S-Y, Cheng Y, Zhao W-W, Zhang Y-H (2021). Effects of dialectical behaviour therapy on reducing self-harming behaviours and negative emotions in patients with borderline personality disorder: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing* 28, 1128–1139.
- Clarke PB, Giordano AL, Cashwell CS, Lewis TF (2013). The straight path to healing: using motivational interviewing to address spiritual bypass. *Journal* of Counseling & Development **91**, 87–94.
- **Crane R** (2017). *Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy*, 2nd edition, Routledge: London and New York.
- Crane R, Bartley T, Evans A, Karunavira S, Silverton S, Soulsby S, Williams J, Kuyken V, Williams W, Yiangou M, Fennell A, Surawy M, Eames C, Fletcher C, Hastings M, Koerbel R, Octigan LK (2021a). Mindfulness-Based Interventions: Teaching Assessment Criteria (MBI: TAC) (In-Depth Version) (Third Version). Bangor University: Bangor.

- Crane RS, Karunavira, Griffith GM (2021b). Essential Resources for Mindfulness Teachers. Routledge: London and New York.
- Creswell JD (2017). Mindfulness interventions. Annual Review of Psychology 68, 491–516.
- Feldman C, Kuyken W (2019). Mindfulness: Ancient Wisdom Meets Modern Psychology. The Guilford Press: New York and London.
- Fendel JC, Bürkle JJ, Göritz AS (2021). Mindfulness-based interventions to reduce burnout and stress in physicians: a systematic review and meta-analysis. Academic Medicine 96, 751–764.
- Forbes D (2019a). Mindfulness and its Discontents: Education, Self, and Social Transformation. Fernwood Publishing: Black Point, NS.
- Forbes D (2019b). How Capitalism Captured the Mindfulness Industry. In *The Guardian*. (Courtesy of Guardian News & Media Ltd), 16 April
- **Fossella T, Welwood J** (2011). Human nature, Buddha nature: an interview with John Welwood. *Tricycle: The Buddhist Review* **20**, 43–104.
- Fox J, Cashwell CS, Picciotto G (2017). The opiate of the masses: measuring spiritual bypass and its relationship to spirituality, religion, mindfulness, psychological distress, and personality. *Spirituality in Clinical Practice* 4, 274–287.
- Giraldi T (2019). Psychotherapy, Mindfulness and Buddhist Meditation. Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature: Switzerland AG, Cham.
- Green AA, Kinchen EV (2021). The effects of mindfulness meditation on stress and burnout in nurses. *Journal of Holistic Nursing* 39, 356–368.
- Hayes S (2022). Why meditation doesn't work for you. Medium. (https:// medium.com/@stevenchayes/why-meditation-doesnt-work-for-you-839a6d 2cd2c4) Accessed 15 February 2022.
- Kabat-Zinn J (2013a). Full Catastrophe Living: Using the Wisdom of Your Body and Mind to Face Stress, Pain, and Illness, Revised and updated edition. Bantam Books: New York.
- Kabat-Zinn J (2013b). Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR, Skillful Means, and the Trouble with Maps. In *Mindfulness: Diverse Perspectives* on its Meaning, Origins and Applications (ed. JMG Williams and J Kabat-Zinn), pp. 281–306. Routledge: London and New York.
- Kang M-J, Myung S-K (2022). Effects of mindfulness-based interventions on mental health in nurses: a meta-analysis of randomized controlled trials. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing* 43, 51–59.
- Kelly BD (2022). An update on mindfulness: what is the evidence? Update: Psychiatry and Neurology 8, 24–26.
- McCown D, Reibel D, Micozzi MS (2010). Teaching Mindfulness: A Practical Guide for Clinicians and Educators. Springer: New York.
- McLeod M (Ed.) (2006). *Mindful Politics: A Buddhist Guide to Making the World a Better Place.* Wisdom Publications: Boston.
- Picciotto G, Fox J (2018). Exploring experts' perspectives on spiritual bypass: a conventional content analysis. Pastoral Psychology 67, 65–84.
- Picciotto G, Fox J, Neto F (2018). A phenomenology of spiritual bypass: causes, consequences, and implications. *Journal of Spirituality in Mental Health* 20, 333–354.
- Purser RE (2019). McMindfulness: How Mindfulness Became the New Capitalist Spirituality. Repeater Books: London.
- Segal Z, Williams M, Teasdale J (2018). *Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy* for Depression, 2nd edition. The Guilford Press: New York and London.
- Ward E (2021). Self. Cork University Press: Cork.
- Welwood J (2000). Toward a Psychology of Awakening: Buddhism, Psychotherapy, and the Path of Personal and Spiritual Transformation. Shambhala: Boulder, CO.
- Weston LY (2021). Mindfulness for Young Adults: Tools to Thrive in School and Life. Routledge: New York and London.
- Wolf J (2019). *McMindfulness* by Ronald Purser; Mindfulness by Christina Feldman and Willem Kuyken review. *The Observer*, August 6.